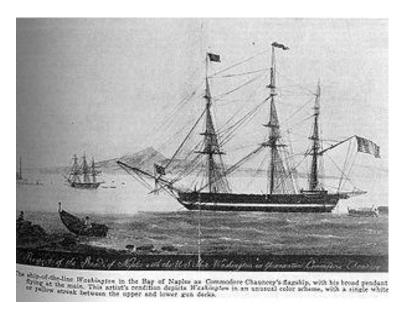
Journal of the War of 1812

An International Journal Dedicated to the Last Anglo-American War, 1812-1815

Articles of Interest:

Last Days at Fort Madison, Part II Grog: A Sailor's Elixir

Visit 1812: Fort McClary, Maine



The 74-gun *USS Washington* was built at Portsmouth Navy Yard in 1813-14

Features: New Hampshire; James Miller; Letters of Marque; Calendar of Events; News of Interest; and More...

Summer 2009 Vol. 12, No. 2 Subscription Rates/ Information Inside

The Journal of the War of 1812

Volume XII, No. 2, SUMMER 2009

An International Journal Dedicated to the Last Anglo-American War, 1812-1815

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Footnotes must be numbered using Arabic and not Roman numerals.

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Journal of the War of 1812

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Volume XII, No. 2, Summer 2009

DEPARTMENTS

2 | Editor's Quoin

The 'But For' Approach to American History: Causality and consequence

5 | Speaking of New England

A round-table of New England news and events

6 | War Leader Profile

James Miller: "I'll Try, Sir." Leader 'round the clock

16 | The Role of the States

New Hampshire: Another "split-personality" state

25 | Visit 1812

Fort McClary, Maine: On the Piscataqua River

26 | War of 1812 Chronology

A snapshot of the summer campaign seasons in 1812, 1813, and 1814

27 | The Documents

Letter of Marque – New England Privateer *Dash*

28 | War of 1812 Calendar of Events

Multi-national up-coming events, festivals and commemorations this Summer

FEATURES

7 | LAST DAYS AT FORT MADISON (Part II)

by David C. Bennett

A re-examination of this famous Mississippi Valley fort and its abandonment by U.S. forces

15 | CLASSICISM AND LUCK

The Flowering of Oliver Hazard Perry; Preparing for Battle

17 | THE SAILOR'S ELIXIR (Part I)

by Eric Brown

An examination of the role of 'Grog" in the U.S. Navy and in the life of the War of 1812 sailor

NEWS OF COMMON INTEREST, AND MORE

3 | Letters/emails to the Editor

3/4 | Bicentennial Events

4 | Notices

4/5 | Honoring the Veterans of War

5 | New Books in Print

24 | Print: USS Constitution under sail

26 A Scrapbook in Search of a Story!

NEXT ISSUE: General Alexander Smyth on the Niagara Frontier

COVER PHOTO: The *USS Washington* was built at Portsmouth under the supervision of Captain Isaac Hull in 1813-1814. It was one of the first U.S. Navy Ships-of-the-Line and served in the fleet until 1843. *Photo: U.S. Navy*

EDITOR'S QUOIN

The "But For" Approach to American History

Causality and consequence are correlative terms. Each action or event in an historical sense are related causally to subsequent actions or events. In political terms, governmental executive policy and legislative enactment produces follow-on policies and enactments. This "But For" approach to American history and the War of 1812 is instructive.

A valid argument can be made that President Thomas Jefferson's ill-conceived attempts to compel Britain and France to respect the commercial maritime activities of the United States prior to 1812 "caused" the rapid rise of manufacturing in New England and the economic dominance of that section of the country in the years before the American Civil War.

The Union victory in that conflict and the freeing of a whole people from bondage gave rise to the need for the Freedman's Bureau (1860s). The need to protect our new citizens from the foibles of avarice led to the Civil Service Acts of the 1880s, which had the result of efficiently and effectively supporting the expansion of government under both Roosevelt's (1900s and 1930s), which led to the War on Poverty (1960s) and, today, to the War on Terror (if we still have one). Cause and consequence. As the King of Siam would say: etc., etc., etc.,

This "But For" argument may go too far for political deterministic advocates posing as historians. But consider: incipient factories were making little headway in New England in the years after the Revolution. Maritime services were the predominant endeavor. As the effects of the Embargo took hold, the ports, the population, the developing water resources providing the necessary power, and a measure of mechanical genus each contributed and gave New England the edge over, say, North or South Carolina. We have a note elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal* about textile mills in Connecticut.

In Jefferson's second term, the Democratic-Republicans tried to add a measure of patriotic determinism to its efforts. America, they offered to a listening business class, needed to be independent of foreign manufactures. This whetted the appetite of New England businessmen in particular who saw opportunity and profit. In reality, Jefferson's Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts protective tariffs for American manufactured goods. This policy also continued after the War and was exposed raw in the controversies over the Tariff of 1816. Back to 1812, though...

No matter what the Federalists in charge of New England governments thought of Jefferson's and James Madison's policies, business was business. When the War started all the logistic implements of success – arms, ammunition, food, and yes, campaign tents and blankets – needed to come from somewhere...why not here!

Further, the 1812-1815 British naval blockade, a necessary strategy in the British military mind, accelerated this industrial development.

Could we now argue: "but for" the Embargo and the British blockade in 1814, the United States may have been ill-prepared to save Britain in 1914 and 1940?

On another issue, one fact is certain. "But for" the cooperation and hard work of the members of the Consortium of the War of 1812 in and around Baltimore, the production and distribution of this and any issue of the *Journal* would be inexorably more difficult. We sincerely hope the challenges with printing and mailing are behind us and we will keep faith in getting these copies to the subscribers timely and at continuing reasonable rates.

The Editor's plea: Our stock of good articles for future publication is again beginning to dwindle. To avoid the Editor's drivel, we ask all to recruit author's of talent willing to contribute their efforts to the *Journal*.

NEWS OF COMMON INTEREST

Letters/Emails to the Editor

Letter Writer John Pauly, Blasdell, NY, has asked about whether anyone has seen recent material on the British 95th Regiment of Foot. He also encouraged us to utilize the covers of the *Journal* to show more line drawings and/or illustrations. Editor – We are trying to make maximum use of the available pages. We may see more changes in the format as we experiment. A Quarterly evolves slowly!

Bob Fenner, Marlton, NJ, has sent several ideas for articles and has provided information on a writer who focuses on the Battle of Plattsburgh. Thanks for the leads and articles, Bob.

Patrick Riley, South Heights, PA, has done major work on finding his ancestor, Private Jesse Riley, 17th US Infantry. He seeks help in confirming the details. Editor: We may use the material in a future article within our continuing series, Honoring the Brave.

LaQuencis Scott, Danville, CA, was looking for information on her ancestor, Allen C. Reynolds, NY militia. Editor – We found a firm reference for Major Reynolds and relayed it with further suggestions on assets at the New York State Archives in Albany.

Bill Forman, New Orleans, LA, is a writer and lecturer on War of 1812 subjects. He expressed an interest in participating in future National War of 1812 Symposium. Editor – We have put him in contact with the Consortium of the War of 1812 program coordinator.

Editorial Advisor Eric Johnson, Ohio, is a great friend of the *Journal* and has sent us a copy of the July 2009 issue of the *Lake Erie Ledger*, the Publication of the Society of the War of 1812 in the State of Ohio. Editor – I'll send an email copy to those who want one.

John Sower, <u>sower1@erols.com</u>, is the Coordinator of the Friends of the Battle of Bladensburg. He is seeking help putting together a package to commemorate the Battle during the bicentennial.

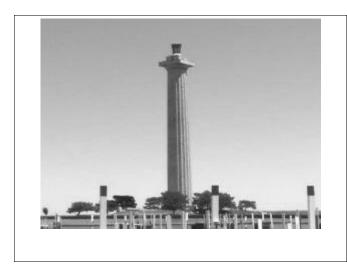
Bicentennial events

Oswego, NY: After an omission from the original bill to appoint a Temporary Commission to Oversee the Commemoration of the War of 1812 in New York, Fort Ontario, the scene of two battle during the War, will be included in the state legislation. Reported by Carol Thompson, *The Valley News*, Fulton, NY. Contact editor@valleynewsonline.com. June 22, 2009.

Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada: The Geranium should be the symbol of the 1812 bicentennial, says parliamentary member Kim Craitor, who may at this writing have filed legislation to that effect. Red Geraniums abound in this area of Canada and particularly so on the Lundy's Lane battlefield. Both the Niagara 1812 Legacy Council and the Niagara Falls 1812 Task Force, drivers within the bicentennial

movement, support the legislation. Prospects for complete passage is, however, unlikely according to a report by Corey Larocque, *Niagara Falls Review*, clarocque@nfreview.com, June 2, 2009.

Notices of Interest to the War of 1812 Community



Put-in-Bay, Ohio: Television station ONN-TV, Columbus, Ohio, and other news outlets report that the Perry Monument, built in the early 1900s, will close for renovation on August 1st. Contact: greg.fisher@onntv.com. (Photo, left: Known officially as the Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, the South Bass Island monument is the nation's third tallest. It is estimated to weigh 16,692 metric tons (that's 36,800,000 pounds). The monument is expected to be closed for two years and re-open for the Bicentennial events.)

Akron, Ohio: A new chapter of the Daughters of 1812 has been formed this Spring. The Commander William Wetmore Chapter has been chartered. The organizing President is Sharon Myers. Contact: armshome@aol.com. Reported in The Suburbanite.com for April 15, 2009.

Manchester, Connecticut: Hilliard Mills, a National Historic Site in Manchester, is perhaps the oldest woolen factory in the country. It was originally owned by Industrialist Aaron Buckland. Most of the blankets issued to War of 1812 soldiers were made there. There are occasional tours of the site available, Call: 860.432.4336.

Honoring the Veterans of the War

St. Catharine's, Ontario, Canada: The 18th Century Turney Family Burial Ground is surrounded by a 21st Century residential development in St. Catherine's. John Turney, buried at the site, was a Lieutenant in the Butler Rangers. An April 9, 2009, report in the *Standard* indicated that not all of the graves are believed adequately marked. The local council hopes to have an Heritage Site plaque in place by summer.

Sanford, CN: There are more than 100 private family burying grounds in Sanford. Few are well cared for, some have been vandalized or deliberately destroyed. A recent re-discovery has been the grave site of Nahum Perkins, a War of 1812 veteran who died in 1879. The Sanford Springvale Mousam Way Land Trust is working with others to protect and preserve these sites, including Veteran Perkins' grave. Reported by the *Sanford News*, June 4, 2009.

Journal of the War of 1812, Volume 12, No. 2, Page 4.

Sackets Harbor, NY: The descendants of General Zebulon Pike wants to test the remains found at the Pike Monument within the Military Cemetery in the Village to confirm their belief that the remains are of the famous War of 1812 general and that they are indeed Pike's descendants. Pike's remains were removed from the initial grave on what became Madison Barracks perhaps in 1819. Village officials are moving slowly, seeking more information on the Pike Family Association. Joanna Richards, Watertown Daily Times, JRICHARDS@WDT.NIT, June 3, 2009

New Books in Print

Noted War of 1812 author **John C. Fredriksen** has a new book out. *The U.S. Army in the War of 1812*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2009. Editor – At press time we are waiting for the book and have agreed to review it in an upcoming issue of the *Journal*.

Author **H. Allen Fletcher** has a new fiction treatment on David Porter. His *Bravest of the Brave: The Adventures of Captain David Porter, USN, 1796-1843*. Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2008. Editor – A quick review of the book leads one to want to complete it in leisure. Time is the culprit of efficiency. Soon, Mr. Fletcher. The editor is looking for others who may prepare a review for the *Journal*.

This issue of the *Journal of the War of 1812* is focusing on New England themes. To that end, readers may wish to see a new book by **James H. Ellis**. A Ruinous and Unhappy War: New England and the War of 1812 was published by Algora Press, 2009. Mr. Ellis made a presentation on the subject on May 26, 2009, at the Maine Historical Society headquarters in Portland.

And Speaking of New England

Concord, New Hampshire: The *Concord Monitor* has a proud history and is proud of it. The present paper can trace it's heritage to the day in the years before the War of 1812 when Isaac Hill bought a paper called the *American Patriot*. He changed the name to *New Hampshire Patriot* and it became one of the leading papers in New England. It stayed in Hill's hands until 1847. The *Concord Monitor*, the *Patriot's* successor today, still publishes the news – New England style.

Boston, Massachusetts: David A Weinburg, a commentator with *The Tech*, the on-line paper from M.I.T., posed an interesting question following the U.S. Navy's action against Somali pirates last spring. WWJD? That is, "What Would (President Thomas) Jefferson Do?" Mr. Weinburg's answer based on Jefferson's actions between 1801 and 1805: "Kick Butt, Allegedly."

Barre, Vermont: In April, 2009, A.C. Hutchison, the retired editor of the *Times-Argus* presented a prescient review of a new book on Lake Champlain. Winston Churchill called Plattsburgh "the most decisive engagement of the War." Keep in mind that at the height of the crisis in September 1813, an estimated 10,000 Vermont militia responded to the nation's call to challenge British and Canadian forces threatening Plattsburgh. Each sought to cross that lake to get to the scene of the emergency.

WAR LEADER PROFILE

JAMES MILLER 1776-1851 U.S. Army Officer

"I'll try, Sir." And with that Colonel James Miller became an iconic War of 1812 figure and a role model for generations of military leaders in the United States Army. Major General Jacob Brown (1775-1828) knew that a key British position at Lundy's Lane had to be taken and held. Miller's 21st Regiment of Infantry had the opportunity and means to carry the day. They did.

Miller was a New Englander, born April 25, 1776, in Peterborough, New Hampshire, to James Miller and Catharine Gregg Miller. He first chose the law as his career, but with state militia experience behind him, he secured a commission as Major in the 4th Regiment of Infantry in 1808. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel by 1810 and left with his regiment for Indiana Territory and service with Governor William Henry Harrison (1773-1841).

Miller missed Tippecanoe due to illness, but was at Detroit with Governor and Brigadier General William Hull (1753-1825). He performed well at Maguaga (also known as the Battle of Monguagon) before Hull ordered his return to the cantonment at Detroit. His unit was surrendered to the British by Hull. Nothing focuses the mind faster than being a Prisoner of War.

Miller was paroled and in 1813 was exchanged for a British officer. By 1814 the newly-promoted Colonel commanded the 21st Regiment on the Niagara frontier. It was at Lundy's Lane on July 25 that Brown ordered Miller to take the hill from which British artillery was able to bring devastating fire on American forces. With 300 men Miller advanced, engaged in hand-to-hand fighting, and drove the British from their guns. The capture of this position, held amidst repeated counterattacks, was the pivotal point in the battle.

Giving up that hill when ordered by Brown and withdrawing to the relative safety of Fort Erie did nothing to sully Miller's reputation.

British forces laid siege to Fort Erie for months. American forces sallied from the fort on September 17 and Miller again led the assault. Miller with others on the right flank took the entire British line and forced a reassessment of the siege.

James Miller was a combat leader. He was recognized by the U.S. Congress in November, 1814, with a gold medal with his likeness and those famous words: "I'll try, Sir" etched in the metal. He was brevetted to Brigadier General as of July 25, 1814, and after the war went on to serve this county for more than three decades.

He was the first territorial governor of Arkansas Territory (1819-1825). In 1824 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from New Hampshire and returned east. However, he turned down the seat, agreeing to serve as the Collector of the Port of Salem, Massachusetts.

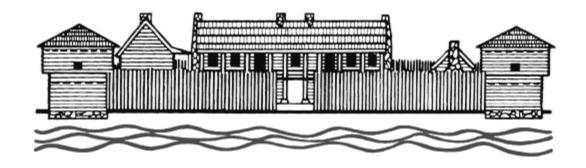
Author Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) knew Miller at Salem and close readers will see this hero through Hawthorne's eyes in the "The Custom-House" chapter of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850). Miller was at Salem until 1849 when he suffered a stroke. He died from the affects of a second stroke at his farm, in Temple, New Hampshire on July 7, 1851.

References:

Graves, Donald E. Where Right and Glory Lead! The Battle of Lindy's Lane, 1814. Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 1997.

Holden, Robert J. "General James Miller, Collector of the Port of Salem, Massachusetts, 1825-1849." *Essex Institute Collection* 105 (1968).

Ledbetter, Cal. "General James Miller: Hawthorne's Hero in Arkansas." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 47 (Summer 1988): 99–115.



A New Perspective on the Last Day's of Fort Madison Part II: Defense Under Siege By David C. Bennett

Change in Command

By September 1809, Captain Horatio Stark, a Virginian with 11 years as an officer, joined his company and took command of Fort Madison. Stark found the winters and sometimes even the summers at Fort Madison, contrary to his health; therefore, he frequently absented himself from his command.²⁵

By 1810, a transfer arrived for Lieutenant Kingsley to Nashville, Tennessee. There, he would serve as a recruiting officer and district paymaster until relieved of duty in June of 1814. Taking his place was recently promoted First Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton, a 30 year old New York native, who had started his military career as a Sergeant and worked his way up the ranks. Hamilton's transfer to Fort Madison from Fort Dearborn, modern day Chicago, was due to Hamilton and his father-in-law, Captain John Whistler, becoming embroiled in a controversy regarding the sutler at that post. When Hamilton challenged a local Indian trader, John Kinzie, to a duel, he was charged with conduct unbecoming to an officer. To avoid a court martial, the colonel of the regiment transferred Whistler to Detroit, and Hamilton to Fort Madison. ²⁶

Open Warfare

Since 1807, there was a steady drumbeat from Fort Wayne, Indiana Territory west to the Mississippi River Valley, crying out "INDIAN HOSTILITIES". From Fort Michilimackinac to Fort Dearborn at Chicago -- from Fort Madison to Fort Wayne, alerts were raised concerning hostile Indians supported by the British. On July 20, 1810, William Clark wrote: "One hundred and fifty Sacs are on a visit to the British agent, by invitation, and a smaller party on a visit to the island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron." Fort Madison's Indian Trading Department agent, John

² Heitman, 917.

² Capt. Clemson/Capt. Symmes Company Descriptive Book, RG 98 NARA, Records of Army Commands, 1784-1821, No. 53/128 (Hereafter: Capt. Clemson/Symmes Company Book); Milo Milton Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest 1673-1835*, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press), 172-175.

Johnson, and the Governors of the Western Territories of Missouri, (General William Clark), Indiana, (William Henry Harrison), Illinois, (Ninian Edwards), and a host of others reported Indian hostilities.²⁷

As the rest of the country plunged toward war, the western frontier was already at war. Stark wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Bissell, his commanding officer, that "...in the event of War taking place between England and America...," a general alliance of all the Indians in his vicinity, except a few bands of the Sioux, would side with the British. The Battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana, fought on November 7, 1811, between forces of General Harrison and the followers of the Shawnee Prophet and his brother, Tecumseh, did not have the desired effect. A letter written on January 6, 1812, informed Benjamin Howard, Governor of Upper Louisiana Territory, in St. Louis, that the Winnebago had attacked the lead mines, that two men were "Butchered in a most Horrid manner by the Puants or Winnebago Indians." Howard was also told, "Their chief, observed that the Americans had killed a great many of their people at Tippecanoe and that they intended to kill all they saw." 29

Another report arrived at St. Louis in early February 1812, again noting that "the Winnebago's are determined to have revenge for the loss of their men killed in the Battle of the Wabash." At Fort Madison, the Winnebagoes took shots at anyone who ventured too far from the fort. About March 3, 1812, according to a St. Louis newspaper, Corporal James Leonard of Stark's Fort Madison company went out hunting when he was caught "...near a half a mile..." from the post. Leonard was absent for two days until friendly Indians brought in his body. One writer penned, "The sight was enough to chill the blood of any feeling heart. His head was severed from his body, both his arms cut off, and his heart taken out!" The residents of Fort Madison received daily reports from near by friendly Indians informing them of their impending demise of an attack from the Winnebagoes, Potawatomis, and Kickapoos. These friendly Indians, though not identified, were probably the Sauk and Fox. The St. Louis newspaper reported the hostile Indians waited only for the ice to break up on the Mississippi River before assaulting the post. ³⁰

A letter written from Fort Madison reported that, "I am convinced that an attack will be made here some time in the spring and it is my opinion that the Indians will take this post, and murder every white person at it unless we are reinforced in a very short time." The *Louisiana Gazette* reported on April 25, 1812, that another soldier at Fort Madison had been mortally wounded. The soldier was actually inside a building when he was shot through a port-hole. Clearly the storm was coming, and the Winnebago, were relentless in their attacks against Fort Madison.

The Order of Defense

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⁸ The Weekly Register, Baltimore, Saturday, 25 July 1812, author's collection.

² Stark to Bissell, 10 February 1810, RG 94, NARA, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm; Stark to Bissell, 6 January 1812, RG 94, NARA, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm.

³ Louisiana Gazette, St. Louis, 15 February 1812, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri (MHS); Louisiana Gazette, St. Louis, 21 March 1812, MHS and Connecticut Courant, Hartford, Tuesday, 21 April 1812, author's collection;

³ Connecticut Courant, Hartford. 21 April 1812, author's collection; Louisiana Gazette, St. Louis, 25 April 1812, MHS.

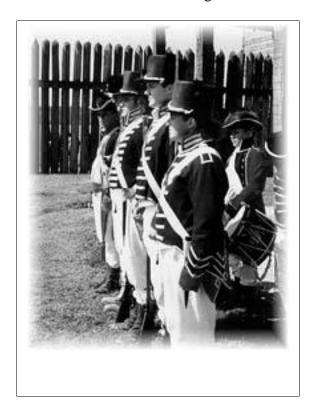
A welcomed arrival to the fort near the end of February 1812 was Ensign Antonio Baronet Vasquez. Born of French and Spanish parents, Antonio wrote in French and spoke fluent French and Spanish and was learning English. His friends called him Barony. The 29 year old St. Louis native had served as interpreter for Zebulon Pike in 1805 and recently fought at the Battle of Tippecanoe. When Ensign Vasquez returned to St. Louis after Tippecanoe, he brought with him a souvenir Indian scalp for his brother Benito. Barony had previously written his brother that "I can supply you with as many as you wish, but my horror of cutting human flesh prevents my taking more than one which I shall have the pleasure of present to you myself." As the Winnebago increased their attacks against Fort Madison for retaliation of Tippecanoe, ironically, a veteran of that battle arrived with his Indian fighting experience. Vasquez would learn of his promotion to second lieutenant in July 1812. Vasquez arrived with other reinforcements from Fort Belle Fontaine, comprised of 14 enlisted men from Captain Joseph Cross's company of Artillerists. However, the 13 privates and corporal would be back at Fort Belle Fontaine by May 9, 1812.

Stark developed what he called "the order of Defense" in January 1812, and by April 11th, had already revised his preparations. Lieutenant Hamilton would be in charge of the two "front Block Houses" which were numbered one and two that faced the Mississippi River. He had at least three men assigned to each howitzer. Another eight men would man the front pickets. Second Lieutenant Robert C. Page commanded the "Middle Block House," or the number three block house, and the west pickets. Vasquez commanded the east pickets with Sergeant Richard Martin and eight men. Sergeant Joseph Ozier was in charge of the "North Block House," or number four, with three more men. The "alarm" would be sounded by the drummer with taps, "when every man will repair to his post without a moment's loss of time." During the day, a guard was placed at the river bank and also in blockhouse number four. The guard would be strengthened each night with an additional six privates. Care was taken that whenever a man who was assigned to a howitzer as a "cannoneer" and placed on guard, he would be posted in the same blockhouse. Clearly, the preparation and planning taken by the commanding officers was very detailed and well thought out.³³

³ Vasquez Family, "Family of Benito Vasquez" Vasquez papers (Hereafter: Vasquez Papers, MHS.); Ensign Baronet Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 9 November 1811, Vasquez Papers, MHS; Baronet Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 25 November 1811, Vasquez Papers, MHS; Bissell to Lt. Vasquez, 21 July 1812, Bissell Papers, Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Capt. Joseph Cross Company Descriptive Book, Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois (IHS)

³ The author is extremely grateful to Dr. John C. Fredriksen for his tip on the location of the Garrison Order Book. From Stark's "Order of Defense", there appears to be three artillery pieces in use before September 1812, though only two howitzer's and no iron six pounder's are recorded in RG92, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General Philadelphia Supply Agencies, 1795-1858, bound volumes No. 28 (old volume 509), Entry 2117, NARA. Ordnance inventory 1808 to November 1811.; It is probable that they were moving their artillery from one block house to another. A howitzer was in block house number four on April 11, 1812. Garrison Orders, January 2, 1812 to November 3, 1813, bound with Belle Fontaine, November 29, 1813 to February 27, 1814, and Belle Fontaine Letters, August 24, 1808 to July 28, 1813. January 8, 1812 & April 11, 1812, Special Collections, West Point Library, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY. (Hereafter: Fort Madison Garrison Orders, USMA); 11 April 1812, Fort Madison Garrison Orders, USMA.

Many of the enlistments of the soldiers were coming due and the men were being discharged. As more and more reports of Indian hostility came in, the garrison's strength dwindled. Only 31 of the men had reenlisted leaving less than 45 men in the company, yet life went on.³⁴



During the month of June 1812, a herd of cattle arrived at the post, Stark's family was in St. Louis, the troops were paid by the district paymaster, and offenders continued to face a court martial. Contractor's boats laden with rations continued to dock at the fort's landing, frequently escorted by detachments of Captain Owens' Company of the 1st infantry from Fort Belle Fontaine.

Sergeant John Ritts, 29 years of age, along with Private Jacob Waggoner, 31 years old, took the opportunity to desert from Fort Madison during July. The two Pennsylvania natives had both just reenlisted the previous year. They gave themselves up by August 1, 1812, at Hardinsburg, Kentucky. They both claimed that they were cruelly treated and asked to be transferred to the 17th Infantry regiment.

Instead, they were on their way back to Fort Madison. They were referred to as some of the best men of the garrison by Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Bissell. Ritts had served several times as an express Sergeant, delivering mail from Fort Madison direct to Bissell, stationed at Fort Belle Fontaine, just north of St. Louis.³⁵

The Siege of Fort Madison – September, 1812

Bissell received word by July 12th, of the Declaration of War and he wrote to Hamilton on July 14th of the news. Hamilton reported to Bissell that the "Indians appear so peaceable" around Fort Madison, but the fall of Fort Michilimackinac to the British and the Massacre of the Fort Dearborn garrison in August would change all that. Hamilton wrote to Bissell on August 24th, that he was informed "Fort Dearborn was taken and burnt on the 16th inst. by 200 Indians, 60 men were killed and 20 taken prisoners." Hamilton also requested that 10 to 15 more men be

³ Capt. Stark Company Descriptive Book, RG 98, 223/130, NARA. Hereafter: Stark's Company Book; 12 April 1811 Exhibit of the expiration of Service of Capt. H. Stark's Company, Records of the Adjutant General, RG 94, M566, Roll no. 5, no. 591, microfilm, NARA.

⁵ Bissell to Lt. John Campbell, 3 June 1812, Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Bissell to Capt. E. B. Clemson, 12 June 1812, Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Bissell to Lt. Hamilton 14 July 1812 Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Capt. Stark Company Descriptive, RG 98, 223/130, NARA.

sent to reinforce his post. Hamilton was aided by a friendly Indian, informing the commander that they would be attacked in ten or more days.³⁶

Previous to Hamilton's report on August 24th, Bissell had already ordered Stark, who was convalescing for his health at St. Genevieve, Missouri, to return to his post. Bissell also wrote the commanding officers of the several posts in his district, that "A jealous eye must at all times be kept on the savages in your Neighborhood, even tho they profess friendship, for they are never to be trusted."³⁷

Thomas Hamilton took his district commander's advice very seriously. On August 26th, Hamilton ordered "all Citizens who reside in the vicinity of this Post and who claims any protection from the Military to repair to the Garrison at <u>Sun down</u> every evening and there to remain until the Gates are opened the next morning." This action was taken "...in consequence of recent information having been received with respect of the hostile intentions of the Indians on this Garrison..." Any civilians refusing to move to the garrison at night were ordered to immediately move off the military reservation by a "distance of one mile & a half." Hamilton made preparations to protect the garrison and all civilians who resided near the fort. The soldiers were ordered to their "alarm posts" each night till sun rise, when a detachment would be sent out along the river bank to patrol.³⁸

Hamilton truly sensed the storm was coming and determined to strengthen the men's resolved. He informed the troops through the "Garrison Orders", that "Within less than ten days the threatened attack is to be made, and the Commanding Officer takes this opportunity to <u>remind every man in the Garrison the necessity</u> of observing the most steady and deliberate deportment during such an important occasion." Clearly understanding the mode of warfare practiced by the Winnebago, Sauk, and Fox, he stressed to the men that they should "...resolve rather to die to the last man than to ask for Quarters..." Hamilton surely expected no quarter from the "Savages." He passionately urged his men to "<u>Sell</u> that <u>Life</u>, which we only value for the <u>Glory</u> of our country, as dear as possible." Not wishing the men to believe that he did not have faith in them or that he distrusted their resolve, he added that "...he has seen nothing but what would induce him to presage a most glorious Victory."³⁹

On September 2, 1812, upon the receipt of Hamilton's letter written on August 24th, Bissell ordered Stark to depart from Fort Belle Fontaine to Fort Madison with 15 men from Captain Simon Owens' Company and also four of Stark's own men. Two of Stark's men were the recently returned deserters, Private Waggoner and former Sergeant Ritts. Stark embarked for Fort Madison at 8am on Thursday, September 3rd, with reinforcements plus another brass 2 ¾ inch Howitzer. Governor Howard also arranged for a Subaltern officer and 16 United States Rangers to join Stark at Fort Mason on the Mississippi "...to make his passage safe and

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³ Bissell to Hamilton 14 July 1812. Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Hamilton to Bissell 24 August 1812, RG 94, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA

³ Bissell to Stark, 22 July 1812 Bissell Letter Book, MHS; Bissell, "Circular to the different Posts in the District," 28 July 1812 Bissell Letter Book, MHS.

⁸ 26 August 1812, Fort Madison Garrison Orders, USMA.

³ 9 Ibid

Expeditious." Bissell felt that Fort Madison was far too large a post for the number of men in garrison and asked Stark upon his arrival to see what he could do to curtail the works, especially "the tail." Once arrived, the reinforcements would increase the garrison strength to 60 enlisted ranks. Would they arrive in time?⁴⁰

On the evening of September 4, a boat arrived at the fort, but it was not the reinforcements from Fort Belle Fontaine. On board was the wife of Second Lieutenant Vasquez, Emilie, who arrived with their young daughter Ophelia. With Emilie's arrival, there was possibly up to six women in the fort, including washerwomen and Mrs. Catherine Hamilton. They found transportation on board a Mr. Graham's boat, possibly a boat belonging to the contractor. Graham, apparently in no rush, left his baggage at the boat landing.⁴¹

Since the mid 1700's, the Winnebago allied with the Sauk. A Winnebago village was located near the head of the Des Moines rapids by 1811 and also on the Rock River. Black Hawk recalled that the Winnebagoes displayed two scalps whose former owners had been killed at the mines. Black Hawk said, "Their success induced several other parties to go against the fort. Myself and several of my band joined....and were determined to take the fort." Sauk and Winnebago scouts were already about the fort and reported to their Chiefs the arrival of Mr. Graham's boat. The Indians made plans to attack the fort the next morning, as they expected the garrison to leave the stockade to exercise in infantry drill. 42

The location of Fort Madison now became its ball and chain. Behind the post, lay the infamous ridge. Even with the "tail" or covert way to blockhouse number four upon the ridge; it was fairly simple for an enemy to be perched on the ridge with a clear shot into the fort. Lieutenant Kingsley's eagerness to build at Belle Vue, partially on account of the spring, proved to be folly. Now the spring, and the ravine that it fed, became a defensive position for attacking warriors. The ravine was described in a newspaper as being "…only 10 to 12 steps of the pickets." However, Hamilton's report that the "spring branch but 110 paces from the Garrison" is likely more accurate. The "chasm" afforded the oncoming attackers about 60 yards of shelter. 43

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⁴ Bissell to Stark, 2 September 1812, Bissell to Governor Howard, 4 September 1812, Bissell to Secretary of War Eustis, 19 September 1812, Bissell to Secretary of War, 4 September 1812, all in Bissell Letter Book, MHS. A "subaltern" officer, ranked lower than a Captain.

¹ Baronet Vasquez also mentions another woman at the fort in this letter: "I am talking about that young woman whom you consider pretty." Four washer women were allowed to every infantry company. Washer women have been documented at Fort Osage, Fort Massac, Fort Dearborn and Fort Belle Fontaine. There is no reason to assume that Fort Madison was any more remote than Fort Osage. The documentation has simply not yet been found. Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS.

⁴ Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman and London: The Newberry Library, University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 106-107; Jackson, *Black Hawk*, 58-59.

⁴ ³ *Weekly Register*, Baltimore, Saturday, 31 October 1812, author's collection; Hamilton to Bissell, 18 July, 1813, RG 94, NARA Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm; "Spring run" or "Spring Branch" or "ravine" or "Chasm" were all used to describe the same feature on the west side of the fort by various sources. Hamilton to Bissell, 18 July 1813. RG 94, Fort Madison Reservation File, microfilm, NARA.

That evening of September 4, about 200 Winnebago and Sauk "...approached the fort in secret." Black Hawk used his knife to dig a hole, and with weeds, he concealed himself. When morning came, the garrison's drummer calls alerted the patient warriors to prime their weapons.⁴⁴

When the gates opened the morning of the 5th, the company did not march out to drill; it was only Private John Cox who had received permission to "attend to his necessities." Cox walked about 25 paces from one of the blockhouses when a Winnebago "killed, tomahawked and scalped" him. The sentinel in the blockhouse quickly fired on the Indian warrior. Black Hawk said there were at least four more soldiers cutting wood, but as they ran to the gate, two of them were killed. Despite Blackhawk's report, it is well documented however, that only one soldier was killed. It appears that Blackhawk's accuracy may match that of the newspapers. ⁴⁵

Emilie Vasquez, who just arrived the evening before, was apparently petrified with shock as the battle commenced in earnest. Her husband later wrote "...after a few hours [of] ruffles [sic reports] of guns, she regained her strength and resolution, for in the end she went as far as the door; I think she went there because I had gone out of it." Hamilton recalled that "the balls and buck shot fell in like hail" before ceasing at dark. 46

The next morning, September 6, Indians were seen on all sides: some had taken cover under the river banks and fired directly into the loop holes. A few of the warriors occupied their time killing the livestock, destroying corn, and plundering some of the houses in the area. By 4pm, it appeared that all of the attacking Indians had collected along the river bank, firing at the two blockhouses facing the waterfront and the garrison flag. It was estimated that 400 rounds had been fired when a shot cut the halyards forcing the flag to fall. Blackhawk, of course, took credit for that shot. Hamilton said that, "A general shout was given by them as a triumph of victory." Sporadic firing continued till after dark, as the body of Private Cox was hauled away. Not knowing how many Indians were outside the walls prevented Hamilton from taking the risk of bringing him in.

As the sun rose on the morning of the 7th, a horrific view was in sight. Private Cox had been butchered, his head and heart was stuck upon sticks along the river bank, and "The head painted after the manner of themselves." The rifle and musket firing commenced, then civilian trader Dennis Julien's house was set on fire. Next, the Indians torched Mr. Graham's boat at the river bank and all of his baggage. Previously, when Graham arrived on September 4, the garrison had offered to move his baggage into the fort, but he refused as no urgent reason existed at the time.

⁴ John Brannan, Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States, during the War with Great Britain in the Years 1812, 13, 14, and 15. (Washington City: Way & Gideon, 1823), 63-65. (Hereafter: Brannan, Official Letters.); Jackson, Black Hawk,59.

⁴ Jackson, *Black Hawk*, 59.

Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September, 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS; Brannan, *Official letters*, 63-64.

Samuel R. Brown, An Authentic History of the Second War for Independence (Auburn: J. G. Hathaway, 1815), 1:172,173; Brannan, Official letters, 63-64; Jackson, Black Hawk, 60; Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64.
 Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64.

Vasquez said, "...the poor unfortunate fellow is much to be pitied although it is his fault....one must not laugh about it." Besides Graham's boat, two other public boats burned as well. 50

About this time, fearing that the Indians would attempt to set fire to the blockhouses, Hamilton approached a clever and novel idea. The garrison had 8 old musket barrels which they converted into "syringes" or "squirts". By drilling holes into the roofs, they were able to completely wet them down as "...if there had fallen a shower of rain." Attempts were made to burn the blockhouses near the Mississippi River. Blackhawk stated they used their arrows for this, but without any effect. Archibald McNabb, the ration contractor's agent, had his house set afire near sundown, which assured Hamilton that their game was to burn the garrison out. ⁵¹

The factory, with only part of its trade goods, lay only a few yards away from the post, outside the pickets. The winds had remained calm all day. Hamilton suspected that the attackers were waiting until there was a strong wind coming out of the west before firing the Indian trading house. Vasquez recalled, "...but we got ahead of them by setting it on fire ourselves." Another wrote "...it was generally believed they were only waiting for a favorable wind to burn the factory, ...which would have been the certain means of destroying us all." That night, Hamilton sent a soldier to set fire to the factory by using an artillery port fire stick. Vasquez said, "What a pity! God! That made a big blaze, but it seems that God was helping us, because the weather was calm, like in a bottle." **S4**

On the 8th, shortly after 9am, some Indians took refuge in an old stable west of the fort and commenced firing again at the garrison. Vasquez took command of a brass howitzer firing two fixed shells into the stable, and "...soon made their yellow jackets fly." Vasquez recalled that "...ammunition was plentiful, we shot at random." Many of the Indians took their old post along the river bank and again continued to fire at the blockhouses while also shooting more fire brands or arrows at the fort. Others attempted to throw an estimated 500 pieces of burning chunks of wood on the buildings. Despite their best efforts, the gun "squirts" did their job and fire would not take. Their attempts did not stop till 10pm that night. After this last effort, the garrison reported that they "heard but little from them."

Canoes were seen crossing the river, and by September 9, not one Indian was seen nor was any shots fired. The garrison speculated that many Indians must have been killed, as they saw many

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⁴ Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS.

⁵ Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64; Weekly Register, 1 October 1812, author's collection

⁵ Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64; Jackson, Black Hawk, 59; Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64.

² Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS

³ The Weekly Register, 31 October 1812, authors collection

⁵ Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS.

⁵ The Weekly Register, 31 October 1812, author's collection.

⁶ Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS.

⁷ The Weekly Register, 31October 1812, author's collection.

⁸ Brannan, Official Letters, 63-64; Weekly Register, 31 October, 1812, author's collection.

fall.⁵⁹ Blackhawk, the single reporter of the Sauk and Fox, stated only one Winnebago was killed and one Winnebago was wounded.⁶⁰ The garrison suffered Private John Cox's death at the beginning of the siege, and also one man wounded in the nose. Vasquez later wrote, "I assure you that I was bored when they went away, for it was a pleasure to shoot these red skins." ⁶¹

Hamilton summed it up so eloquently, stating, "This garrison is in the most ineligible place that ever could have been chosen by any man...The Indians are much better fortified than we." Hamilton was not exaggerating; the river bank on the south, only 30 paces away, gave complete cover to the attackers while the "spring run" or branch on the west also offered excellent cover for 60 yards and only about 110 paces from the fort. The east side of the fort was not much better while "...on the north a hill commands us completely, which I know from experience, as I could not pass from one block house to the other without being fired upon." After the siege ended, the troops were still very nervous and over reactive, forcing Hamilton to address false alarms. Hamilton ordered, "No Discharge of fire arms, beating of drums or any other unusual noise is to be made which might induce any person to repair to his post without a necessary and proper occasion." 9 September 1812, Fort Madison Garrison Orders, USMA.

(Editor: Part III will tell of the ultimate outcome of the abandonment of Fort Madison and its fallout in the Western Theater of Operations.)

Classicism, not Luck, Contributes to Perry's Successes

September 10 is the date each year for memorializing the officers and men who participated in the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813. Pennsylvania and Ohio get the most attention because while the fleet was built at Erie, the fight was off Put-in-Bay on the Ohio coastline. Almost forgotten is the solid and formative New England education afforded the American commander, Oliver Hazard Perry. Perry was born to Christopher and Sarah Perry in South Kingston, Rhode Island, on August 23, 1785. His parents moved to Newport with their family to take advantage of the greater educational opportunities, and Oliver soon found himself attending the academy of Mr. John Frazer. With a focus on classical languages and mathematics, Oliver like his father, applied his skills to navigation and nautical astronomy, earning a commission in the United States Navy in 1799. His exposure to the classics and science in Newport set the stage for his many later accomplishments. While others decry the facts: education, training and experience, not Luck, won the battle that set the stage for the American reconquest of the Old Northwest. So it could be said that both knowledge of the *Edictum Theodorici* and the Transit of Venus had their concomitant effect on the success at Put-in-Bay. - Editor.

Lt Vasquez to Benito Vasquez, 16 September 1812, Vasquez Papers, MHS

⁵ Sketches of The War between the United States and the British Isles: Intended as a Faithful History, vol. I & II, (Rutland, Vermont, Fay and Davison, 1815), 1: 78. (Hereafter: Sketches)

⁰ Jackson, *Black Hawk*, 60.

⁶ Brannan, Official letters, 64-65.

⁶ Brannan, Official letters, 64-65.

⁶ ⁴ 9 September 1812, Fort Madison Garrison Orders, USMA.

NEW HAMPSHIRE DURING THE WAR OF 1812

Like most of New England, New Hampshire experienced the War of 1812 in both the political halls of government and at the scenes of military danger within the state. Influenced but not controlled by the heavily Federalist factions in nearly Massachusetts and Connecticut, the state had both pro- and anti-Madison administrations during the war.

In June, 1812, Governor William Plumer (1759-1850), a Democratic-Republican, responded to the Administration's call for 3,500 volunteer militia, allowed the militia to be placed under federal officers, and sought to control smuggling across the state's borders.

Plumer lasted a year. The state Federal Party, aided and encouraged by the surrounding states, strongly condemned Plumer and offered John Taylor Gilman (1753-1828), in the gubernatorial election of 1813. Gilman won, but the Federalists were unable to gain a majority in the state executive council.

Meanwhile recruiting for the Army proceeded. The 4th Regiment of Infantry was primarily raised in New Hampshire. The Fourth fought at Detroit early in the war, but saw it's heaviest combat in the St. Lawrence region and at Plattsburgh in late 1813 and into 1814.

Gilman reversed the policy of allowing the militia to serve under federal officers. He gained political support but that action was to have negative, and possible catastrophic, results the following year. In early 1814, when Portsmouth was threatened by aggressive British action, Gilman called his militia to action but quickly found that the Federal authorities would not supply the military necessaries unless command shifted to the in-state federal officers.

Gilman simply sent the militia home rather than submit. The threat from the Royal Navy diminished and Gilman's political career was salvaged.

Not salvaged, though, was a state and local condition not directly attributable to the War. On December 22, 1813, that most fearful threat to 19th Century American cities – fire – struck in Portsmouth. Beginning in the evening and raging into the next day, over 15 acres in the central business district containing more than 100 houses, 60+ stores and

shops, and 100 additional outbuildings were destroyed by fire. Officers from the Portsmouth Navy Yard, including Commodore Isaac Hull (1773-1843) and Captain John Smith, from the *USS Congress*, joined the firefighting efforts.

The *USS Washington* (74-guns) under construction at the Yard was safe. Hull, after relinquishing command of the *USS Constitution*, was commander at the Yard. He was a close observer and analyst of British intentions. Besides the town and the Yard, he was more concerned that the *USS Washington* be protected, launched and put to effective use.

In 1814 British intentions became clearer with their close blockade and invasion in the Massachusetts's District of Maine. Gilman recalled 1,500 men at the end of summer. John Montgomery, the commander of the state militia, ordered every tenth man in the state to report to Portsmouth and set about strengthening tiny Fort Sumner and Fort Constitution. These men were placed under federal command.

New Hampshire had her fair share of privateers, including the first commissioned, the schooner *Nancy*. Under her skipper, a Captain Smart, she plowed the waters at the mouth of the St. Lawrence "to take, burn, sink and destroy the enemy wherever he could be found." *Nancy* was followed to sea by many others, including the *Portsmouth*, *Harlequin*, and *Governor Plumer*.

By fall of 1814, it appeared that Portsmouth and the remainder of New Hampshire were out of danger. This explains the state's response to Massachusetts's call for the Hartford Convention. Officially, the state government took no action regarding the invitation, though two counties sent Benjamin West (1738-1820) and Mills Olcott (1774-1845) to the convention as delegates.

New Hampshire was politically divided state, but it probably contributed more to the war effort than its New England neighbors, Federalists notwithstanding.

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A Sailor's Favorite Elixir

The Spirit Ration Grog and the United States Navy, 1794-1862 By Petty Officer Eric Brown Mass Communications Specialist 1st Class, USS Constitution

Editor: We heard of it. Chuckled over it. And at times we may have even sampled it, but how many of us have a clear understanding of the historical significance and influence that "Grog" may have had on the conduct of the naval war in 1812-15? "Listen, me heavers, and ye will hear of the wibble, the crank, and the phyz severe..."

Petty Officer Eric Brown is the Public Affairs Officer for the *USS Constitution*. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees in his field and writes from the perspective of a serving member of the U.S. Navy. The opinions expressed herein are the author's and are not necessarily those of the Navy. This article is exempt from any copyright claim of the *Journal of the War of 1812*.

Grog is the simplest of mixed drinks (rum or whiskey and an equal or greater amount of water) and among the most controversial. In the mid-18th century it was reviled by Royal Navy men who preferred their rum served straight. In America 50 years later, however, grog became the Sailors' "favorite elixir." Within decades, maritime-oriented temperance groups were constructing a dam intended to stop the flow of this libation from America's whiskey distilleries through its ports, onto Navy ships, and into Sailors' thirsty mouths. That battle was not won until the latter half of the 1800s.

Although long gone from the lives of Sailors, grog, like tall ships, scurvy and flogging, remains emblematic of the salty zeitgeist upon which the modern U.S. Navy was founded. Today, it is hard to imagine the Navy effectively operating under the influence of the vast quantities of alcohol supplied by the government to Sailors as part of their daily ration. Likewise, those "Jack Tars" of 1812 would have been equally pressed to envision a day at sea without it.

The use, abuse and eventual demise of grog, followed by the U.S. Navy's increasingly proactive approach to combating alcohol abuse and dependency through leadership and education, clearly shows a slow motion revolution of social reform. Since the Age of Sail (an era spanning the mid-14th to the mid-19th centuries), when stupor-inducing amounts of hard alcohol were served to all hands not once but twice daily, the Navy's policy on alcohol has nearly reversed course. Today,

For the British view, see: Olivia A. Isil, *When a Loose Cannon Flogs a Dead Horse There's a Devil to Pay* (Camden, Maine: International Marine/McGraw-Hill Companies, 1996), 46 (Hereafter, Isil, *Loose Cannon*). For the American, see Tyrone G. Martin, *A Most Fortunate Ship* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2003), 78 (Hereafter, Martin, *Fortunate Ship*).

alcohol is not served to Sailors during normal working hours on its ships or facilities. A 1999 Naval Instruction controls this issue and provides exceptions for "official functions, ceremonies, and other infrequent command-sponsored events."²

During the Age of Sail, life at sea was a character-building experience, to say the least. Wooden ships might spend months or years at sea, driven only by the wind and manpower (in the term's most literal sense). A Sailors' natural habitat was "damp, noisy, dangerous, crowded, smelly, too hot or too cold, and in constant motion." Aboard these vessels, the lives of men (and boys) were reduced to hard work and long watches while "battling endless days of boredom, tedium, death, and disease." Eighteenth-century essayist Samuel Johnson surmised "...no man will be a sailor who has the contrivance to get himself into jail, for being in a ship is being in a jail with the chance of being drowned."

For centuries, European navies served their ships' companies alcohol in various forms, in no small part to alleviate the tension and discomfort sailors endured. "Even back in the Middle Ages, a king's sailors expected to get beer as part of their rations," explained *USS Constitution* Museum Research Coordinator Matt Brenckle, recently. "It was part of life, and I don't think it occurred to them to get rid of it."

When England was at war with Spain in the early 18th century, Vice Admiral Edward Vernon commanded a squadron in the Caribbean. Vernon was nicknamed "Old grog" for the silk nohair and wool grogram coat he favored. Veron hit upon a solution to a vexing problem that involved alcohol generally and heavily intoxicated sailors, specifically.



Sir Edward Vernon, Royal Navy, 1664-1757 "Old Grog"

² *OPNAVINST 5350.4C* (June 29, 1999), 4.

³ Martin, Fortunate Ship, 81.

William M. Fowler, Jr., *Jack Tars and Commodores* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 126 (Hereafter, Fowler, *Jack Tars*).

⁵ Stephen R. Bown, *Scurvy* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2003), 26 (Hereafter, Bown, *Scurvy*).

Matt Brenckle, interview by author, Charlestown, Mass, 07 November 2008 (Hereafter, Brenckle Interview, November, 2008).

Rather than attempting the apparently unthinkable – stopping the crew's rum ration altogether – the adimral issued an "Order to Captains" dated August 21, 1740: "Whereas it manifestly appears ... to the unanimous opinion of both Captains and Surgeons, that the pernicious custom of the seamen drinking their allowance of rum in drams, and often at once, is attended by many fatal effects to their morals as well as their health, which are visibly impaired thereby, and many of their lives shortened by it, besides the ill consequences arising from stupefying their rational qualities, which makes them heedless slaves to every passion; and which have their unanimous opinion cannot be better remedied than by ordering their half pint of rum to be daily mixed with a quart of water..." With considerable prescience, Vernon added further instructions for officers of the deck and their watchstanders: "...to be very careful to prevent any rum and all spirituous liquors being privately conveyed on board the ship by your own boats or any others..."

Rum, the hard liquor which originated in the West Indies and was produced from sugarcane products primarily in Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and America, had long been a favorite drink among British sailors. These sailors would later refer to rum as "Nelson's blood" in honor of British naval hero Vice Admiral Horatio Nelson, based on a popular misconception regarding the fluid in which he was embalmed. Actually, it was probably brandy.⁸

Half a pint of rum, diluted with water and served in two portions daily, may not sound like much, but researchers believe the alcohol content in "Nelson's blood" (and later in America, whiskey) was much higher in past centuries than what is usually bottled and sold today. A modern author detailed one early method, at once probably apocryphal and certainly foolhardy, of determining the proof of rum. "One can only guess at the strength of the spirit then issued in those days, but it must have been raw indeed compared with the sophisticated blends issued by the navy of later years," he wrote. "In fact, it was impossible to establish the proof (or strength) of naval rum accurately until 1816, at which time the Sikes' hydrometer was invented. For many years prior to this, the ship's purser, or 'pusser' as he was called, was responsible for testing and issuing rum at proof by a rough rule of thumb said to have been invented at the Royal Arsenal. Pure rum was mixed with a little water to which was added a few black gunpowder grains, so that when the sun heated the mixture through a burning glass, the gunpowder just ignited but did no more. Legend has it that in carrying out this test, the explosion of too strong a mixture would blow a purser sky high allowing everyone to help himself! Too weak a mixture failed to ignite, and the purser could be punished for watering the rum."

Adding water to the liquor did nothing to diminish the potency of the alcohol and did little to slow the absorption of alcohol into the drinker's bloodstream. Thus, Vernon's solution to his crews' drinking problems failed to correct the problem itself. The grog regimen easily combined heavy drinking (consuming more than two drinks per day on average for men) with binge

⁷ On Vernon's coat, see: Isil, *Loose Cannon*, 46; On watered rations, see: A.J. Pack, *Nelson's Blood* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1983), 22.

⁸ The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed., s.v. "rum;" Janet Macdonald, Feeding Nelson's Navy (London: Chatham Publishing, 2006), 42 (Hereafter, Macdonald, Feeding).

⁹ Pack, Nelson's Blood, 16.

drinking (consuming five or more drinks during a single occasion, in two hours or fewer, for men), as defined by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta, Georgia. ¹⁰

"Grog" quickly spread from Vernon's tropical fleet to the Royal Navy at large, then onto other European navies, before crossing the Atlantic more than 50 years later to be drunk by Sailors in a new, permanent sea service being built by former British colonists.¹¹

The American Navy followed the Royal Navy in spirit, structure and ceremony, and, like the British, was governed by a leadership style best described as autocratic. In the words of onetime Sailor and *Moby Dick* author Herman Melville, this new Navy of wooden ships and iron men was "the asylum for the perverse, the home for the unfortunate."

Martin's description of the Navy - "damp, noisy, dangerous, crowded, smelly, too hot or too cold, and in constant motion" - is correct in essence, but not in extent. The "asylum" could be far worse than that, and Sailors' heavy binge drinking did little to reduce their sufferings.



Today's Crew of the *USS Constitution* at gun drill. Courtesy: U.S. Navy

In fact, their drinking patterns merely created their own hardships. A ship itself could be a horrendous environment and everything on board, the food, the sailors, the vermin, the diseases and military justice, each could be just as bad.

As to shipboard conditions in the Royal Navy, "ships were built almost exclusively from wood. The wood quickly became waterlogged, creating a permanent damp and cold environment. Men lived in the damp, worked below decks in the damp, slept in the damp, and ate food that was continuously stored in the damp. When it rained and during rough seas, they had no means of drying themselves off after their watch. ...The damp, dark, and unventilated environment was ideal for vermin, which infested nearly all the food eaten shipboard." These vermin included rats,

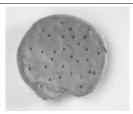
¹⁰ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Alcohol & Public Health," http://www.cdc.gov/alcohol/ (accessed November 14, 2008).

Harold D. Langley, *Social Reform in the United States Navy, 1798-1862* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 210 (Hereafter, Langley, *Social Reform*).

Fowler, Jack Tars, 126.

weevils, maggots, worms, cockroaches, flies, mosquitoes and ants. 13

In addition to vermin, sailors battled diseases, both infectious (such as venereal diseases, malaria, smallpox, tuberculosis, yellow fever and dysentery) and those caused by vitamin deficiencies (scurvy, rickets, beriberi, and pellagra). "Mariners in the eighteenth century suffered from a bewildering array of ailments, diseases, and dietary deficiencies, such that it was next to impossible for surgeons or physicians to accurately separate the symptoms of one from those of another." ¹⁴



Hardtack Biscuit (enjoy!)

Further one finds that "[1]ife shipboard was not conducive to curing or avoiding any of these varied ailments, and indeed was an ideal environment for spreading them. The sailor's wooden world was infested with refuse, trash, rotting flesh, urine and vomit.... The holds were crammed with vermin, festering and spoiled provisions, and in some cases rotting corpses

[This did not occur in the U.S. Navy; recently deceased were buried at sea as expeditiously as possible]... The ships always leaked, and pumps could never keep the water out entirely, so the ballast of gravel or sand became incredibly putrid. Ventilation was poor and the bilge gasses so noxious that it was extremely hazardous for carpenters to go below to work in the hold. The stench was unbearable and occasionally men suffocated from inhaling the fumes."¹⁵

While there is no doubt that sailors in both the American and British navies ate great quantities of food, the quality of that food was often "monotonous, crude and nearly unpalatable." This was sometimes because the victuals brought onto ships may have been stored in barrels for years before actually being opened for consumption. It was also noted that "sailors were known to be particularly suspicious of hardtack that contained no weevils or maggots, believing it to be too bad even for those ever-prevalent pests." Occasionally, rats provided the only fresh meat an enlisted sailor might eat during a lengthy voyage. ¹⁶

Dwelling within Melville's "home of the unfortunate" were the Sailors themselves, who were sometimes the best of men, and sometimes, not. "The crew of our vessels of war comprise men of all nations and of almost every variety of character," wrote an anonymous U.S. naval officer in an essay "A Plea in Favor of Maintaining Flogging in the Navy," probably drafted in the 1840s. "Among them are many who are respectable in their demeanor, capable, tractable and industrious; there are many others who are insolent, ignorant, quarrelsome, lazy and mischievous. And there is always, in every ship, a knot of abandoned and incorrigible vagabonds, sweepings of the jails and streets, the outcasts of the shore, who herd with the vicious

15 *Ibid.*, 14-15.

Bown, Scurvy, 26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18, 20, 22; also see Macdonald, *Feeding*, 97.

portion of the seamen, and form a turbulent and unruly gang..."¹⁷

Recruiting in the Navy 200 years ago wasn't selective in the way it is today. The only official guiding principles a captain received in finding the men for his ship came from 1814's "U.S. Navy Regulations," which stated in paragraph 6: "When ordered to recruit, he is to use his best endeavors to get the ship manned, and not to enter any but men of able bodies, and fit for service..." All the men, teenagers and boys that made up a ship's company lived, worked, ate, slept, and sometimes died in close quarters. A relatively small ship easily housed a minimum of 440 crewmembers during each of her wartime cruises. 18

The population-dense environments endemic to European and American navy ships reduced the common enlisted men to replacement parts, ready to fill in any sudden void caused by combat, plague or other catastrophic event. This overcrowding contributed to both the unsanitary conditions and the spread of disease, each known to weaken combat effectiveness. "One of the great and sad ironies of the age was that naval authorities increased the number of men on ships in anticipation of replacing those who died. The overcrowding increased the deaths, however, leading naval authorities to strive for even greater numbers at the start of every voyage." ¹⁹



Flogging a Crewman (early 19th Century) Courtesy: U.S. Navy Museum

If all of the above were not enough to make sailors' lives miserable, there was always the lash, a favorite "educational aid" of British commanding officers and their boatswain's mates for centuries. The "aid" was readily introduced on American ships, too. A U.S. Navy captain's authority to employ flogging on errant crew members was written into the Articles of War, or "An Act for the Better Government of the Navy of the United States," dated April 23, 1800.

Section 1, Article III states the punishment of guilty Sailors is "not to exceed twelve lashes for any sailor found guilty of oppression, cruelty, fraud, profane swearing, drunkenness, or any other scandalous conduct, tending to the destruction of good morals..." For more serious

offenses, a court-martial was required, which could award the guilty up to 100 lashes or even death by hanging. Although ranking low in the Articles' list of wrongdoings worthy of reprimand, drunkenness was punished by flogging more often than all other offenses combined,

Naval Historical Center, "Flogging in the U.S. Navy," http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/flogging.htm (accessed November 14, 2008).

¹⁸ Charles E. Brodine, Jr., Michael J. Crawford and Christine F. Hughes, *Interpreting Old Ironsides* (Washington D.C.: Naval Historical Center, 2007), 12, 121 (Hereafter, Bodine, et al., *Old Ironsides*).

¹⁹ Bown, Scurvy, 15, 16.

including neglect of duty, theft and desertion.²⁰

Once an accused man had been deemed guilty, a captain could award lesser punishments, including confinement in irons, fines, and suspension or dismissal from service. However, according to Fowler, "flogging was the favorite punishment. It was simple, direct and public."²¹

The actual tool of the trade was usually a cat-o'-nine-tails, which had nine twisted cords, each about 18 inches long and tied off with a knot. "Wiring" the cat was not authorized, but sometimes the "tails" were soaked in brine prior to application for additional flavor. "The spectacle of flogging was meant to inspire terror among the ship's crew thereby deterring misconduct and ensuring obedience to naval law. The shrill sound of the boatswain's pipe, followed by the call, 'All hands to witness punishment, ahoy,' signaled the commencement of the flogging ritual. The prisoner's hands and feet were secured, his shirt removed as the crew watched. At the captain's command, 'Boatswain's mate, do your duty,' the flogging began. The master at arms counted out each stroke of the cat across the prisoner's bare back until the punishment was complete."²²

Although limited by law to no more than 12 lashes per offense, some creative commanding officers (such as *USS Constitution's* Captain Edward Preble) found a way of getting around such limits. For example, on Nov. 23, 1804, Preble took a single charge of drunkenness made against a Sailor named Thomas Ayscough and subdivided it into four related charges, each worth 12 lashes. Ayscough received a total of 48 lashes for the offense(s). 23

An even clearer example of the abuse of both the letter and spirit of the Articles of War can be seen in the occasional practice of "flogging 'round the fleet." which "involve[d] carrying the prisoner around the harbor in a small boat and inflicting a portion of his sentence at the side of every ship and in the presence of its crew. Such a spectacle was believed to be a good example to the seamen and to promote good discipline. The phrase and the practice were borrowed from the British, and, in that service, it was usually the equivalent to a death sentence." During a U.S. blockade of Tunis in 1804, a court-martial held aboard *USS Constitution* (again, commanded by Preble) sentenced a Sailor named John Graves to receive 300 lashes for desertion by being "whipped through the fleet."

Although perhaps not smiled upon, flogging in the U.S. Navy was not really disapproved of either by Americans around the time the Articles of War became law. Flogging was just a standard business practice at the time, and like malnutrition, drowning, poor living conditions and excessive drinking, formed part of the publics' general expectations of the maritime military service. "Without question, punishment was quick and brutal, ... But in a society that tolerated

Bodine, et al., *Old Ironsides*, 114; Fowler, *Jack Tars*, 138.

Bodine, et al., *Old Ironsides*, 121; Fowler, *Jack Tars*, 137.

Langley, Social Reform, 141; Bodine, et al., Old Ironsides, 20.

²³ Fowler, *Jack Tars*, 137-138.

Langley, Social Reform, 142.

slavery and gave the master almost absolute rights over his slave, a society whose ordinary family law gave the father near-absolute power over his children, the authority of the ship's captain ought not to be seen as an aberration."²⁵

However, as the first half of the 19th century wore on, public opinion changed dramatically as various social reform movements picked up steam, and influential Americans such as politicians and clergymen became more aware of abuses heaped upon the country's servicemen. For example, one report to Congress detailed 5,963 floggings aboard 60 Navy ships from 1846-1847. Many of those floggings were awarded for trivial offenses and infractions that had little to do with the "scandalous conduct, tending to the destruction of good morals" outlined in the Articles of War.²⁶

"Corporal punishment was the keystone of the Navy's disciplinary edifice during the War of 1812, reflecting a belief that Sailors who served in the nation's fleet were a tough, hard-bitten class of men who could only be governed by brute force... Until this view of the serving Sailor changed, the Navy's leadership remained wedded to the lash as an instrument of discipline." That view changed in 1850, when flogging was outlawed in the U.S. Navy.²⁷



USS Constitution under sail. Source: U.S. Navy

(Editor – Eric Brown's article will conclude in the Fall with an examination of the social and military reforms leading to an end of the "Grog" Era.)

Fowler, Jack Tars, 138.

²⁶ Langley, Social Reform, 173.

Bodine, et al., *Old Ironsides*, 21.

VISIT1812 FORT McCLARY STATE HISTORIC SITE

About two miles east of Kittery, Maine, the scenic Piscataqua River enters into the Atlantic Ocean.

Here, since the late 17th Century, and through five wars, stands one of Maine's most historic coastal fortifications supporting British and now American interests. Early during the European colonization era, a wealthy landowner, Sir William Pepperell, the Elder, first acquired the property and erected primitive defensive works. His son, William (1696-1759), is remembered for leading the British expedition against Fortress Louisbourg, New France. By 1715 the Massachusetts Bay Colony erected permanent breastworks to defend the river.

The relics, ruins and the reconstructed blockhouse on this site today represent several different periods. The fortification that was here during the War of 1812 rose following the *Chesapeake-Leopard Affair*, when relations between Great Britain and her former colonies began their steep, fast glide towards war. Fort McClary was officially established in 1808; construction began the following year. It was named for a New Hampshire patriot killed at the 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill: Major Andrew McClary (c.1729-1775).



After the War of 1812 the site remained necessary and viable. Before the American Civil War no less than Abraham Lincoln's future Vice President, the Honorable Hannibal Hamlin (1809-1891), served as a cook at the fort while in the Maine Coast Guards.

As the 20th century dawned, the Fort was in sad shape. Considered fully obsolete in 1910, it was decommissioned in 1918. The State acquired the property from the federal government in the 1920s.

Since then the State has operated the site as a park. However during World War II civilian defense forces again occupied the grounds. The site was added to the U.S. National Register of Historic Places on October 1, 1969 (Site # 69000025). The 1844 blockhouse and other structures were renovated in 1987.

Fort McClary State Historic Site is now under the control of the Bureau of Parks and Recreation, Maine Department of Conservation. In addition to the blockhouse, which serves as a museum, the site includes the remains of a power magazine, a caponier, granite and earthen walls and other works.

Signs on site lead visitors through the remains of the casements, the magazine, bastion, and caponier with its rifle ports pointed seaward. (Remember the language of 19th Century fortification design. A Caponier was a bomb-proof passage leading from the inside of a fortification to the outworks. It was designed, as in Fort McClary's case, to provide flanking fire by the fort's defenders on the approaching enemy soldiers.)

There is enough at this park to meet every taste. Exquisite views of the mouth of the Piscataqua and of the Atlantic beyond, recreation for children, and the museum housed within the blockhouse provide for an interesting visit.

Fort McClary is located just north of the Maine-New Hampshire state line, on the northern side of Portsmouth Harbor. From Route 1 and Maine Turnpike, travel east for 2 1/2 miles on Route 103 (Kittery Point Road). The park entrance is marked on the right. It is open from Memorial Day through September and in recent years carried a \$2 per person fee. Telephone: In season: 207.384.5160; Off Season: 207.490.4079

Safety at the site:

Some pathways are steeply sloped. Stair climbing is required to explore the blockhouses and other park attractions. There is a rocky beach front for fishing and scuba activities. Restrooms are well maintained but parking is limited.

Reference:

McDonald, Sheila., et. al. A History of Fort McClary State Historic Site. [Kittery, Me.]: E.M. Peverly, 1993.

WAR OF 1812 CHRONOLOGY August through October

This quarter we return to the traditional chronology since the summer campaigning season us in full force and the significant events of the War incurred in these months. – Editor.

Pre-war Events:

1809: Aug 09: U.S. Reverts to Non-Intercourse Act with G.B.

1810: Aug 05: French Cadore letter revokes Milan and Berlin Decrees

1810: Oct 27: U.S. annexes West Florida, adds to territory of Orleans

Events in 1812:

Aug 05: Skirmish at Brownstown

Aug 13: USS Essex captures HMS Alert

Aug 15: Garrison massacred at Fort Dearborn

Aug 16: Hull surrenders to Brock at Detroit

Aug 19: USS Constitution defeats HMS Guerriere

Sep 03: Massacre at Pigeon Roost (Indiana Territory)

Sep 06: Fort Wayne attacked by Indians

Sep 10: US captures Br. Brigs Detroit and Caledonia

Sep 13: Russia offers mediation between US and GB

Sep 21: Forsyth's raid on Gananoque, Upper Canada

Sep 30: US rejects GB armistice offer

Oct 04: British defeated at Ogdensburg, New York

Oct 13: Brock killed at Queenston Heights, Canada

Oct 18: USS Wasp defeats HMS Frolic

Oct 25: USS United States defeats HMS Macedonian

Events in 1813:

Aug 02: British assault on Fort Stephenson, Ohio

Aug 14: HMS Pelican defeats USS Argus

Aug 30: Fort Mims massacrer; Creek War erupts

Sep 05: USS Enterprise defeats HMS Boxer

Sep 10: Perry and the Battle of Lake Erie

Sep 30: Americans reoccupy Detroit

Oct 05: Battle of Thamesville, Upper Canada

Oct 26: US repulsed at Battle of Chateauguay, LC

Events in 1814:

Aug 02: British Siege of Fort Erie begins

Aug 03: Action at Conjocta Creek, NY

Aug 04: US repulsed at Battle of Mackinaw Island

Aug 08: Peace Commissioners meet at Ghent

Aug 09: Treaty at Fort Jackson ends Creek War

Aug 10: Raid on Stonington, Connecticut

Aug 12: Capture of Somers and Ohio on Lake Erie

Aug 15: Drummond's failed night assault on Fort Erie

Aug 19: British land near Benedict, Maryland

Aug 24: Battle of Bladensburg; Br enter Washington

Aug 28: British capture Alexandria, Virginia

Sep 01: USS Wasp defeats HMS Avon

Sep 01: British occupy Castine, Maine

Sep 03: Capture of Tigress and Scorpion

Sep 04: Armstrong resigns as Secretary of War

Sep 04: Commencement of Plattsburgh Campaign

Sep 05: Skirmish at Rock Island Rapids, Illinois

Sep 06: Skirmish at Beekmantown, New York

Sep 11: Plattsburgh (Lake Champlain), New York

Sep 12: Battle of North Point, Maryland

Sep 13: Bombardment of Fort McHenry, Maryland

Sep 14: First assault on Fort Bowyer, MT, repulsed

Oct 01: USN begins operations against Baratarians

Oct 05: MG Izard at Niagara; assumes command

Oct 09: Last reported siting of USS Wasp

Oct 16: David Farragut is paroled POW

Oct 19: Former President John Adams' Birthday

Oct 25: Andrew Jackson and John Coffee at Mobile

Post-War Events:

Oct 20 (1818) US and GB enter Convention of 1818

SCRAPBOOK IN SEARCH OF A STORY!

The British incursion of Maryland and Washington took place in September 1814. Your Editor has in his library a curious scrapbook attributed to Irving R. Saum of Bethesda, Maryland. The narrative portion of the scrapbook seems to be a article by Captain William S. Davis, USN, "The Capture of Washington" that appeared in the June 1937 edition of the *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*.

To this article Mr. Saum has added etchings and newspaper photos (without attribution) of related sights in the Washington, DC, area. One of the newspaper photographs purports to be the David Ross House near Peace Cross in Bladensburg, Maryland. It alleges that this home was used by the British forces as a Hospital where over 70 wounded soldiers were treated. Several may died there and may also have been buried on the property.

Can any of our readers shed light on these facts or the scrapbook, itself? - Editor.

The Documents

A Letter of Marque from the War of 1812

Letter of Marque

James Madison, President of the United States of America

To all who shall see these presents, greetings:

Be it known that in pursuance of an Set of Congress passed on the fifth day of June one thousand eight hundred and twelve, I have commissioned, and by these presents do commission, the private armed Schooner called the (Dash of the burden of two-hundred Twenty-two tons, or thereabouts, owned by Seward and Samuel Porter in the city of Portland, state of Massachusetts, mounting sixteen guns, and navigated by forty-two seamen, hereby authorizing Captain Edward Kelleran and the other officers and crew thereof to: Subdue, seize and take any armed of unarmed British vessel, public or private, which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States or elsewhere on the high seas, or within the waters of the British dominions.

And each captured vessel with her apparel, guns and appurtenances, and the goods or effects which shall be found on board the same, together with all the British persons and others who shall be found acting on board, to bring within some port of the United States.

Ind also to retake any vessel, goods or effects of the people of the United States, which may have been captured by any British armed vessel, in order that proceedings may be had concerning each capture or recapture in due form of law, and as to right and justice shall appertain. The said John Lawton is further authorized to detain, seize and take all vessels and effects, to whomsoever belonging, which shall be liable thereto according to the law of Nations and the rights of the United Etates as a power at war, and to bring the same within some port of the United States in order that due proceedings may be had thereon.

This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States for the time being. Given under my hand and the seal of the United States of Imerica at the city of Washington, the twenty second day of December in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twelve and the independence of the said states the thirty seventh.

By the President, James Madison

James Monroe, Secretary of State

At the beginning of the War of 1812, Congress left to the President the mechanics of issuing Letters of Marque and Reprisal. The document here authorized the armed brig *Dash* to "subdue, seize and take..." His Majesty's ships on the seas. Who can name the last vessel granted a Letter of Marque in the United States?

War of 1812 Events Calendar

August 1:

Fort McHenry – Defenders Return to the Fort. A presentation by the Fort McHenry Guard. Each weekend in August. Contact Vince Vaise at 410.962.4290x224.

August 1-2:

War of 1812 Weekend, Sackets Harbor Battlefield Historic Site, Sackets Harbor, NY. For more information, Call 315.646.3634 or email constance.barone@oprhp.state.ny.us.

August 8-9:

Siege of Fort Erie, Fort Erie, Ontario, Canada. For more information contact: Peter Martin, 350 Lakeshore Rd., Fort Erie, Canada; 905.871.0540, pemartin@niagaraparks.com, or visit <www.iaw.on.ca.jsek/1812a.htm>

August 15:

14th Annual Battle of Bladensburg Encampment, Riverdale House Museum, Riverdale Park, MD. For more information call 301.864.0420 or email riverdale@pgparks.com.

August 15-16:

Fort George Fife and Drum Muster and Soldiers' Field Day, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario Canada. For more information call 905.468.4257 or email at ont-niagara@pc.gc.ca. Additional details are found at www.niagara.com/parkscan.

August 22:

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Daviston, AL. 10th Annual Muster on the Tallapoosa. Contact Ove Jensen, 256.234.7111.

August 22-23:

Fort Henry, Kingston, Ontario Canada. Reflections of the War of 1812 – Siege on Fort Henry. Call 613.542.7388 or email getaway@parks.on.ca.

August 29-30:

Frontier Skills Weekend, Fort Meigs, Perrysburg, Ohio. Details pending. For more information contact Fort Meigs State Memorial, PO Box 3, 29100 W. River Road, Perrysburg, Ohio 43522, www.fortmeigs.org. 800-283-8916.

September 5-6:

Fairfield Comes Alive, Thamesville, Ontario, Canada. For more information, contact Gayle Allen, 30020 Clachan Road, RR#3, Bothwell, Ontario, NOP 1C0 Canada, 519.695.3634, or visit <Fourandtwentyblackbirds@sympatico.ca>.

September 6-7:

Fort Osage, Sibley MO. Fort Osage Bicentennial Celebrations Call 816.650.3278 or email swilson@jacksongov.org.

September 11-13:

Defenders Day at Fort McHenry – Star-Spangled Banner Weekend. Fort McHenry's and Baltimore's flagship event. Contact Vince Vaise at 410.962.4290x224.

September 19:

1812 Tavern Night at Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum, St. Leonard, MD. Call the Museum at 410.586.8501 or email at jppm@mdp.state.md.us.

October 2-4:

Mississinewa 1812, Marion, IN. For more information, contact Mississinewa Battlefield Society, 402 S. Washington Street, Suite 509, P.O. Box 1812, Marion, IN 46953; 800.822.1812; email at <info@mississinewa1812.com>.

October 3-4:

Village of Fanshawe, London, Ontario, Canada. The 1812 Invasion of Upper Canada. Call 519.457.1296 or email info@fanshawepionervillage.ca

October 10-11:

Fort Massac Encampment, Metropolis, IL. Details pending.

October 25-26:

Fort Osage, Sibley MO. Militia Muster at the fort. Call 816.650.3278 or email swilson@jacksongov.org.

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